1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17

choking the sleeper. The two then pull the struggling man toward them, pick him up and carry him to a safe place in the jungle. The one who had crawled into the camp returns and lies beside the man's wives, with whom he is supposed to copulate in the perfect killing.

The other magician, meanwhile, opens the left side of the man, who is now presumed to be in a dead faint, slits the skin between two ribs, somewhat below the heart, and pulls the two ribs back. He covers his arm and hand with orchid juice[8] and places a small sharpened hardwood stick in his palm with the sharpened end in his fingers. The victim is breathing heavily; when he inhales the magician pushes his hand upward between the ribs, when he exhales the magician holds his hand. When the sorcerer reaches the heart he thrusts the killing stick into it and withdraws his hand from the body.

The victim's body is now held so that the trunk is leaning down, and the blood is allowed to run into a paper-bark receptacle or a waterproof basket. When the heart stops beating the soul is let out; in native thinking the heart's blood is different from the body's blood, the home of the soul being in the heart. The basket of blood is hidden some distance away. The magician returns, puts the ribs in place, and smooths the flesh upon them. He builds a small fire, heats his spear-thrower in it, and rubs it against the wound. Previous to the killing he has gathered a nest of green ants and a small lizard, which are mashed together. The juice is taken from them and rubbed on the wound. The heating and rubbing continue until the opening is completely closed and all traces of the wound are gone.

The magician turns the body on its face. The large intestine protrudes several feet because of the magical death. A few green ants are shaken on the cut. They bite the flesh and the intestine retreats within the hole much like a snake.

The spear-thrower is then dipped in the heart's blood and whirled around the victim's head. The body quivers. The weapon is once more dipped into the heart's blood and waved again. He breathes heavily. The operation is repeated several times until the man who lost his soul sits up and looks very much as before the magical "killing."

The operator now hits him on the head and tells him he will not remember what has happened to him. He is ordered to open his mouth

[8] An orchid bulb, green ants, and sometimes a lizard are collected preparatory to a killing. The juice of the bulb is rubbed on the operating arm. The green ants and lizard are used to bite the intestine to make it withdraw or to bite a wound and cause it to close; sometimes ointments for the same purposes are made of the ants and of the lizard.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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852 leader walks among the men, who are decorating themselves with
302 birds' down to take the part of various birds and animals in the
718 coming ceremonial dances, and sings a song over their heads. He sings the taboo names of the creature the man is painting himself to represent. This makes the design and the man magically powerful.

852 One end of a small green stick from any tree is chewed into a
302 brush and dipped into the blood, and the blood is painted over the body of the man to form the various designs used by the dancers. The paper bark dropped into the blood the day before is also used as a brush. Two men usually paint each other at the same time. The old men paint in the old men's camp, and the younger men go off by themselves. If the old men so desire, they may paint outside where the young men do. They do not let the neophytes see them decorate themselves for the ceremony.

2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted on the dance ground by older men. The totemic design of the clan is placed on [824] each candidate's chest and abdomen, with the juice of an orchid bulb as the adhesive; blood is never used because it is magically too powerful for an uncircumcised boy. The man who paints the boy is always [431] given a present by the father and mother. The neophytes are then led by the older men to the head of the snake ground. Sweat from the armpit of an old man (almost as powerful as blood) is rubbed on the eyelids of the boys to strengthen their eyes for the coming ceremony.

852 3. The division of dances that follows on this day of the circum-
535 cision is on a moiety basis. Dua men dance Dua animals and plants,
616 Yiritja men dance Yiritja objects that belong to their world of culture, man and nature.

852 Two men run in with their spears fixed to their spear-throwers and
535 point them straight at the boys as if they were going to throw them. The men have their baskets in their mouths as they often do when fighting. They return to the bush and rush in a second and third time. They are supposed to be fighting men and also catfish. The word for catfish is the same as that for one variety of fighters. The leader sings catfish while the men dance. Several old men stand beside the boys to instruct them and to prevent their running away.—Each group of dancers bows before the initiates just previous to leaving the dance ground.

After the "catfish" have retired, one man comes in dancing, carrying his spear-thrower and shaking it as if it were a bird's tail. He is a willy-wagtail. He pretends to pick flies off the branches of the trees

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OE17 Muragin OE17

be gathered only by the *dua* men who give it to those of the opposite moiety. Yellow, *kadangul*, and black, *tjunapul*, come from localities near Gurunga.[43] The collection of the yellow pigments is associated with a ceremony in which men of the *jiritja* moiety only can take part. The *jiritja* distribute these pigments to the *dua* men.

At Oenpelli, most of the colours are obtained by trade. The best red ochre, *gunaitdai*, comes from a totemic place, Widitjan, about eight days journey south. If this ochre is in short supply, the aborigines use an inferior local ochre. For white, the aborigines use a stone, *outjain* (unidentified), which they first grind into a paste and, when it is partly dry, mould into small cakes. In this form, the pigment is traded over long distances. The yellow ochre, *maragurarum*, which is soft and easily ground, comes from some unidentified place to the far south. I did not gather any details about the source of the black, called *manmai-jangarin*. Apparently it is in short supply because it is rare in both the bark and cave paintings in the Oenpelli area.

Throughout Arnhem Land the pigments are ground, with water, on rough flat stones. One stone is generally reserved for the white pigment. Cockle and small bailer shells are often used as paint pots. Both Tindale[44] and Spencer[45] state that the aborigines mix their pigments to get different shades. At the time of my visit to Groote Eylandt, Yirrkalla and Oenpelli the aborigines were not mixing their colours, the different pebbles of red and yellow ochres accounting for the varying shades of red and yellow in the paintings.

(ii) FIXATIVE

The juice of one of the tree orchids (*Dendrobium* sp.) is used by the Arnhem landers as a fixative on both the bark and the cave paintings. The orchid bulb is cut in halves, broken slightly by chewing, and, in the Oenpelli and Yirrkalla areas, rubbed directly on the bark or rock surface, or in Groote Eylandt, mixed with the colour on the grinding stone. This method of holding the colour is effective as long as the pigments are applied thinly; if not, they tend to flake off.

(iii) BRUSHES

The aboriginal artists of Arnhem Land use three kinds of brushes:

(a) A narrow strip of bark, chewed at one end (Fig. 3F). This is held as in Fig. 3C and used for the broad lines.

(b) A cylindrical stick (Fig. 3E), about three thirty-seconds of an inch in diameter, and three inches long, which has the end slightly barred. With this the artist makes the dots. The brush is tapped on the grinding stone to load it with colour, which is transferred to the painting with the brush held as shown in Fig. 3B.

43. See myth of Gurunga, p. 371.
44. Tindale (1928), p. 117.
45. Spencer (1928), p. 702.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Muragin O117

(iv) SHEETS OF BARK

The bark sheets were stripped from one of the local stringy-barks (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*). After having selected a tree of a size suitable for his purpose, and one free from knots and cracks, the aboriginal first made two cuts round the circumference of the tree, usually about three feet apart, then, loosening a strip of bark at the lower cut, pulled it upward, leaving a narrow vertical opening. Into this opening the native inserted the point of a sharpened stick, and gently levered the bark from the tree. The whole operation usually occupied about three minutes. The aboriginal then threw the bark, rough outer surface downward, on a large fire for a short time, after which he stripped off the outer fibrous bark until the inner denser portion was about three-sixteenths of an inch thick. In this condition the bark, being particularly flexible, was easily flattened by levelling a patch of sand, placing the bark on top, covering it with more sand, and leaving it until dry. The drying took several days to a fortnight, depending on the humidity of the atmosphere. Normally, these bark sheets were used for building the wet-weather shelters (Pl. 3A) on the inside of which the aborigines spent much of their spare time painting pictures.[47]

The method which I adopted was to ask the men to make bark paintings for me, seldom suggesting a subject. At the end of the day, the artists brought their work to my tent, related the associated myth, and explained the meanings of the designs. Under normal tribal conditions, most of the bark paintings are the result of idle hours, when the artist depicts subjects in which he is most interested. But this is not always so. In the Milingimbi and Oenpelli areas, the old men paint designs on sheets of bark which illustrate secret totemic myths. These are exhibited to the novitiates during their initiation and age-grading ceremonies.[48]

5. THE ARTISTS

Some writers suggest that only a limited number of aboriginal men are employed as artists.[49] This is not so. All men were willing to and could paint, although, naturally, some are more skilled than others. The men shown on Pl. 4 produced bark paintings that belonged to Groote Eylandt, Yirrkalla, Oenpelli and Liverpool River areas respectively.

Pl. 4B is *Nangapiana* from Groote Eylandt, who with his relatives, *Tatalura* and *Juliaura*, produced many fine bark paintings. Pl. 21E and Pl. 25B are the work of *Nangapiana*. *Mini-mini*, mentioned by Adam,[50] also made a number of paintings. He did not, however, employ the fine brushwork of *Nangapiana*, although the results were attractive and colourful. Pl. 30C is *Mini-mini's* work.

47. As the supply of prepared sheets of bark at Yirrkalla and Oenpelli became exhausted, I provided the artists with sheets of rough-surfaced dark grey and green paper. The paintings on these sheets of paper can be distinguished in the illustrations by the smooth ground.
48. Warner (1937), p. 318; also p. 224.
49. Adam (1951), p. 103.
50. Adam (1951), p. 104.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 *532 In panel *c* are unidentified palm trees with fruit hanging from their upper branches.[47] The upper sloping lines are the branches, the lower, the water flowing around the roots, and the cross-hatched central band the swamp.

The Wawalik Sisters

*773 The story of the travels of the *Wawalik*[48] sisters is the basis of four great ceremonial cycles, the *djungguan*, the *gunabibi*, the *ulmark* and the *marndiella*. It is one of the most important myths of north and north-eastern Arnhem Land.

The myth associated with the bark painting (Pl. 88A), although abridged and differing somewhat from Warner's *Wawilak* myth, nevertheless contains the basic elements, i.e. the naming of the plants and food animals, their flight when placed on the fire, the profanement of the sacred pool, and the swallowing and later regurgitation of the women by the serpent, *jurlungur*.

*773 ● 824 825 At Yirrkalla the aborigines told me that the *Wawalik* sisters came from a locality far away to the west. As they travelled they collected and named all the yams. They are: *arituna*, black inside; *jakwa*,[49] white inside; *mawoka*, milky white inside, with a black stem; *dilkarun*, with hair from its roots like a beard; *wunga-rapu*, red inside with black roots; *kungari*, a large round yam that must be soaked all night to make it edible; and many others. The sisters also caught and named a number of the food animals and reptiles—the kangaroo, *karitjimba*, the lizard, *tjunda*, the bandicoot, *warnt-kura*, the blanket lizard, *baltjira*, to mention but a few.

*773 When they reached a waterhole called Mirrirmina,[50] the elder sister, who was pregnant, begged her companion to make a camp because she felt that she was about to give birth to her child. The younger woman quickly built a bark hut, placed her sister inside, then lit a fire to cook the yams. However, no sooner had she placed them on the fire than they all came to life and ran away. Again she tried to prepare a meal, this time placing the dead animals and reptiles on the coals, but they too became alive and escaped into the forest. Both of the *Wawalik* women then retired into the hut and soon afterward the elder sister gave birth to a son.

*773 976 In the bottom of the nearby waterhole, Mirrirmina, lived a huge mythical brown python called *jurlungur* (non-sacred name, *witik*). The odour of the blood of the birth so annoyed him that he first came to the surface and sent flashes of lightning into the sky, then, leaving his waterhole, approached the

47. Panel *a* resembles the *mata* design of the *tiwi/djapa* language group of Port Bradshaw (Fig. 630), and the sloping lines on panel *d* that of the *kapin mata* (Fig. 638).

48. The *Wawalik* myth and the last ceremonies are described and analysed in considerable detail by Warner (1937), p. 235. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 32, make a short reference to the same myth and ceremonies. Berndt (1951a) also describes the *kunapipi* (*gunabibi*).

49. The yam, *jakwa*, was also created by *Ajainbuma*, the wife of *Barolo-barolo*, p. 311. The flowers of the yam, *mawoka*, is used by the spirits at Dumbalia (Bremer Island). See myth of journey of the dead, p. 323.

50. Warner (1937), p. 251.

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Whereas the upper panels deal with the sea and seashore, the lower two deal with the land. In the central panel is the woman, *Njinpili-lingou*, a bark dish on her head, standing on the top of a sand-dune near Cape Shield. The rectangles on either side of her are nearby sand-dunes. In panel *a* the five cockatoos in flight were disturbed by *Njinpili-lingou*. There are also five emus in the same panel. Their tracks are shown on panel *c*.

The Man, Wanatjai

Plate 95B is the painting of an aboriginal, *Wanatjai*, with a long Malay smoking pipe in each hand.[93] On the upper edge of the painting are four steel axes, and on the left-hand side two steel knives. *Wanatjai* is wearing a belt. On his chest is a design of triangles[94] which he brought back from Macassar with him.

The Woman, Mahwulwi

In the early times a pregnant ancestral woman, *Mahwulwi*, accompanied by a little rat, *nik-nik* (the woman's dog), went into a mangrove swamp at Gumumungu, on the north side of Blue Mud Bay, to collect oysters. While filling her carrying-bag with the oysters, she was swept off her feet by a strong tide. She tried to swim to land, but was drowned because the tide was too strong and she too heavily pregnant. The little rat, *nik-nik*,[94] however, was able to swim to safety.

Mahwulwi's body is now a large tree in the mangrove swamps at Gumumungu. On the trunk of this tree there are marks indicating three maximum water levels: spring tides, usual tides and tides when, during the wet season, the fresh-water from the rivers floods the mangrove swamps.[95]

Plate 95D depicts *Mahwulwi* in the mangrove swamp at Gumumungu, near Blue Mud Bay, where she used to collect oysters. The cross-hatched panels *a*, *a*, indicate the fresh-water from the river running among the mangrove-trees and meeting the tide coming up from the bay. As mentioned in the myth, when the tide ebbs it leaves dark lines on the trunks of the trees.

Muruma, the Fisherman

In early times *Muruma*, a noted fisherman, lived with his wife beside a stream called Bamui, near the totemic place of Jalboa, north-east of Yirrkalla.

One day *Muruma*, having speared many fish, put them on the fire to cook. He was resting under a tree when one of the *Bukalatji* (enemies of *Muruma*) paid him a visit, saying that he and his wife were hungry, having just paddled all the way from Dambalia (Bremer Island). Little suspecting treachery, *Muruma* gave his cooked fish to the *Bukalatji*, who, after having eaten them, rose to go.

92. Interpretation, W. M. Sevier.
93. This is the same as the *jiritja* (haul symbol of Cape Arnhem (Fig. 631). It is also present in the art of the Celebes, Fig. 658.
94. See bark painting of the rat, *nik-nik*, and *Bourngauwili's* dog, *dukiruja*, Pl. 121A.
95. These marks are indicated on the carved wooden figure of *Mahwulwi*, Pl. 133C, D.

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and cut it up in the same manner as do the aborigines of today. The fishermen, the canoe and the pieces of turtle meat are now natural features at Jalbua.

In the upper right of the painting, Pl. 96B, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil* are spearing the turtle. They are shown again seated on either side of a rock, a black circle. Below them are two casuarina trees, Pl. 91A,[98] which grow near the totemic place. The metamorphosed bodies of the two men, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, now the turtle-rock[99] Al-aika (Pl. 97A), are indicated at *a*, on the outer edge. There is a similar design immediately beneath the turtle. A semi-circular design near the tail of the turtle is the metamorphosed canoe, now a low reef rock in the shallow water (Pl. 97C, on the left). The oval *b*, on the lower edge of the painting, is the carapace of the turtle (Pl. 97B). In the lower right are two pieces of flesh, *baiwu*, from the inside of the turtle's front flippers, and above is the club, *barlait*, with which the hunters killed the turtle. Above the carapace are two pieces of meat (more or less triangular figures) from the chest, called *trittiri*. The fat from the creature is indicated by a barred oval on the extreme upper left. The turtle-spear and spear-thrower are on the right-hand edge at *c*. Immediately to the left of them are two more pieces of meat from the inside of the front flipper.

The fishermen, the canoe, and the parts of the dismembered turtle have all been transformed into natural features on the sea-shore at Jalbua. The turtle-rock, Al-aika (Pl. 97A) is the metamorphosed bodies of the turtle fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*. The canoe is a small low rock on the extreme left (Pl. 97C), the carapace (Pl. 97B) and parts of the dismembered turtle (Pl. 97D) large eroded boulders on the coast.

There is hardly a rock or a tree in this locality that is not linked, in one way or another, with either *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, *Muruma*, the fisher-man, or *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, the turtle-fishers.

Tjuna-tjuna, Wurururnga and the Bukalatji

Two brothers, *Tjuna-tjuna*[1] and *Wurururnga*, were the first people to live on Dambalia (Bremer Island). They were paddling to the mainland in their bark canoe on one occasion when they noticed smoke among the trees and, on sneaking ashore, saw a *Bukalatji* man, *Djunmundia*, asleep by the fire. He was wearing, around his neck, a particularly large carrying-bag.

The brothers said to each other, "This is the man who killed our father last year. We now have our chance to pay him back."[2]

98. The same trees as those mentioned in the *Tjambuwal* myth.

99. The aborigines throw stones on the top of this rock in order to ensure success in catching turtles.

1. In the myth associated with the two carved heads, Pl. 139D, *Tjuna-tjuna* is called *Bauaraulu*.

2. Blood feuds are common in Arnhem Land and the cause of most of the killings. They can, however, be ended at a ceremonial peace-making fight, the *makaraka*. See Warner (1937), p. 174, also the myth of crocodile and stingray and the origin of the first *makaraka*, Pl. 122D.

[text continues on p. 305]

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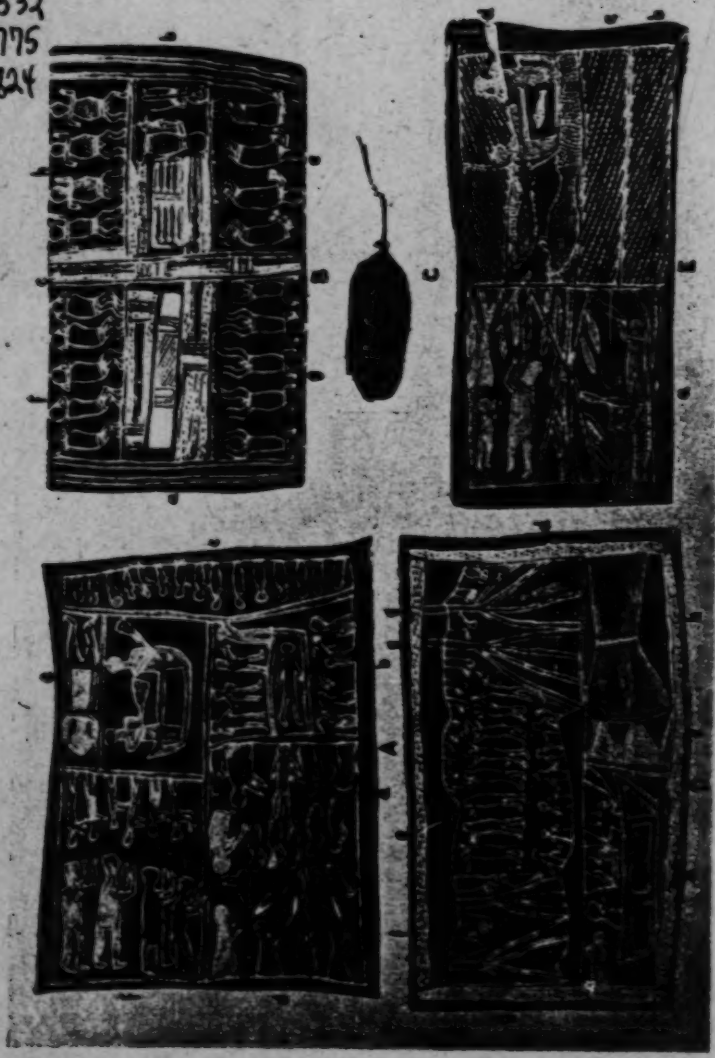

PLATE 100. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla
A, E Journey of Jirija dead B Final stage of burial C Bean of mwin vine
D Jirija heaven, Naikuna

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aboriginal foods there are many coco-nut trees and much tobacco.[43] These exotic foods do not exist in the *dua* heaven.

(i) *The Journey of the Dua Spirits of the Dead*

As soon as the mourners have left the final burial ground, the *dua* spirit leaves his bones, and entering a bark canoe, is paddled by a *Mokoi*, the first man who died, to Jumundi, a jungle on the western shores of Melville Bay. At Jumundi he meets a number of other spirits called together for the occasion by the two *Mokoi*, *Wulurait* and *Bunbulama*.[44] The new spirit and the *Mokoi* dance all night, carrying in their hands the jungle-flower, *wakoro-nani*, collected by the woman, *Bunbulama*. When morning comes the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly boatman leave for Dambalia, accompanied by a number of dolphins.[45]

The boatman and his companion spend the next night at Dambalia (Bremer Island), performing ceremonies and dancing. This time they carry in their hands the red flower of a yam called *mawoka*.[46] Next morning the spirits start on the last stage of the journey for the distant isle of Purelko. After paddling for many days toward the sunrise and the place where the morning star, *barnumbir*, rises above the horizon, the two boatmen, accompanied by many dolphins, reach their destination. As they land and walk along a path a masked plover, *berrk-berrk* (an onomatopoeic name), which has been watching for their arrival, rises from the ground with a shrill call, a call which tells the inhabitants of Purelko of the arrival of a new spirit. The leader of Purelko, *Jaualin-wuira*, a man with a painted penis, meets and welcomes the new arrival and offers him wives and food.

After the new spirit has met his wives, established his camp and satisfied his hunger, he is welcomed by many of his old friends. Later, when walking through the trees, he surprises two women who are gathering food. The women run quickly to their camp, distinguished by the smoke rising from the many cooking fires, and tell the men of Purelko that they have just seen a new spirit. The men form themselves into a line, spears in hand, and wait. When the dead man sees them, he endeavours to distract their attention by dancing first the brolga dance, then the moon-fish dance. But the spirit men of Purelko quietly wait until the visitor has finished his dances before they cast their spears into his body, one

43. The aborigines believe that the coco-nuts, lengths of bamboos and occasionally canoes (see engraved pipe, Fig. 638) which are cast up on the Yirrkalla beaches during the northerly, *lungurama*, winds are sent to them by the spirits of Nalkuma. The *lungurama* winds (see winds, p. 133) which originate at Nalkuma are also a gift from the spirits of the dead. [823 824]

44. See myth of *Wulurait* and *Bunbulama*, p. 286.

45. Warner (1937), p. 366, records that the porpoises (dolphins) take the spirits of the *dua* Milingimbi men to Purelko. At Yirrkalla, the dolphins carry only the spirits of the *dua* children to Purelko. [825]

46. In some account, a ceremonial object made from the yam, *mawoka*, and its flower is taken from Dambalia to Purelko, where it was transformed into the morning star, *barnumbir*. It is not clear whether this flower is carried by every spirit that passes through Dambalia, or whether it was made in creation times, and is now permanently at Purelko.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

along the bottom of the lagoon. Panel *b* deals with the time when the wet-season floods submerged a hive of wild bees near the totemic place of the tortoise. Many of the bees were drowned and both they and the honey floated on the surface of the water. The dots represent the drowned bees, and the diamonds the honey from the submerged hive. The patterns on panels *c* and *d* are the leaves of the spike-rush, *norik* or *rakia*.

The parallel white lines on *e* symbolize the fish trap constructed by *Laitjun*,[40] a type of trap still employed to capture a fresh-water fish called *paipinja*.

(5) Fish

The Shark, Mana, at Blue Mud Bay

When the *dua* shark, *Mana* (tiger shark, *Galeocerdo* sp.) was a man he tried to establish a camp at Arnhem Bay, but was speared by *Borolo-borolo*[41] because the latter did not want any strangers near him. *Mana* ran across country to Blue Mud Bay, transformed himself into a tiger shark and tried to live in a fresh-water swamp. But it was far too shallow for his comfort, so he travelled to the sea coast, where he met an old man tiger shark with whom he has lived ever since.

Mana's body is now a large white-barked eucalyptus tree in the swamp where he first tried to live. *Mana* the shark continues to live in the sea. This apparent contradiction is not unusual, p. 33. A carved figure, Pl. 132A, illustrates this myth.

Plate 119B pictures the totemic swamp of *Mana*, near Blue Mud Bay.* At *a* is the tiger shark, *Mana*, and at *b* his companion. The wavy lines at their tails symbolize the wake.[42] In the upper and lower panels, the squares[43] on either side of the sharks indicate the fallen leaves of an unidentified palm tree floating on the surface of the water.[44] At certain times of the year the aborigines make a fish trap by blocking the entrance of a watercourse leading into the swamp with these leaves, and driving the fish into it.

Turtles and Fish

Plate 119C depicts the ocean.[45] The upper and lower left-hand panels *a* and *b* show two *dua* green turtles, *gariwa*, in the rough water indicated by the groups of curving lines. On the lower right at *c* are two seagulls, *nurula*, in flight, two dolphins, *injapana*, and two conch-shells. The cross-hatched object on the left of this panel is a trepang. Above this group at *d* is an attempt to depict a water-spout, *bojunga*. These are not uncommon in the Gulf of Carpentaria during the monsoon season. On the upper right at *e* are two fish, and two turtles eating sea-urchins. The groups of curving lines indicate rough water.

40. Engraved pipe, Fig. 60D.
41. See bark painting of *Borolo-borolo*, Pl. 110A.
* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XVIII.
42. This symbol is often used in the art of north-eastern Arnhem Land, e.g. Pl. 113C.
43. These symbols are used on carved figure of the shark, *mana*, Pl. 132A, B, C.
44. The *mata* design of the *dua djapu*, language group, of Blue Mud Bay, Fig. 64A.
45. Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 O117 Murngin O117

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The Saw-fish, Nalgan

Plate 127C belongs to the saw-fish, *nalgan*, totem of Milingimbi. Four saw-fish are depicted, two in the upper panel at *a*, *a*, and two in the lower at *b*, *b*. In the lower panel a fresh-water tortoise is shown between the tails of the saw-fish. Scattered throughout the drawing are small star-like designs which represent the star-fish, *midjala*. These fish provide food for the tortoises. The oval designs between the star-fish represent seaweed, *djiwul*, and the dots, its fruit. The two fish on the right side of the upper panel are called by the native name of *wungulbu*, and the three transverse cross-hatched panels, *c*, *c*, *c*, are sand-bars near the totemic place. There are three flying fish, *digar*, at the upper edge of the bark painting.

The Turtle, Wilira

The totemic place of the turtle, *wilira*, pictured in Pl. 127D, is an island called Nulgunin-nuna, situated north-west of Elcho Island. The triangular patterns occupying most of the surface of the bark painting are clouds created by the three turtles spraying water into the sky. Two king-fish are shown in the clouds, one at *a* and one at *b*.

2. SMOKING PIPES AND MYTHS

As far as I am aware the long smoking pipe, Fig. 59A, B, is used in Australia only by the aborigines of Arnhem Land and the adjacent islands.

Tobacco smoking was introduced by the Malays within the last century or so when they visited Australia during their periodical journeys to collect trepang and pearl shell, though the *Baijini* myth suggests that the aborigines may have become acquainted with tobacco at an even earlier date. After the Commonwealth Government, about 1910, prohibited the Malays from coming to Australia the aborigines continued to use the Malay pipe, smoking either a substitute or European tobacco, occasionally issued by white traders and missionaries.

In general, the pipes[70] are made in a few minutes from the pithy stem of a shrub (*Guettarda speriosa*). The aboriginal removes the pith with a thin stick, plugs one end with bark, cuts a hole in the side an inch or more from the end, fits a bowl[71] saved from the old pipe, and, except for the engraving, the pipe is complete.

The pipes I collected are about an inch in diameter and varied in length from eight inches at Groote Eylandt to thirty inches at Yirrkalla, Fig. 59B. It was necessary to have a longer pipe stem at Yirrkalla so that there would be sufficient room for the totemic designs. In use, Pl. 124D, the aboriginal takes a

70. The bowls of the early pipes were made of tin-plate and carefully treasured. Since the last war, most pipe bowls are made from shortened cartridge cases. As mentioned earlier, the aborigines recognize the difference between the *Baijini* pipes, which are similar to those used by Europeans, and those of the Malays. The *Baijini* were a mysterious group of fair-skinned people who once camped at Port Bradshaw, myth, p. 333.

71. Warner (1937), p. 461, refers to the smoking pipes of the Murngin, near Milingimbi, and Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 102, to those at Yirrkalla.

[Text continues on p. 391]

ARNHEM LAND: ART, MYTH AND SYMBOLISM

The Bush-fire and the Eucalyptus Trees of the Gainmaui Swamp, Caledon Bay

*773 *532 [828] During creation times some men, whilst performing a ceremony at the Gainmaui swamp, south of Caledon Bay, left a camp-fire unattended. The fire spread, burning the whole countryside, including the men themselves.[97] They are now white-barked eucalyptus trees, *guriri*, which, at certain times in the year, shed small flakes of bark from their trunks, exposing the whiter bark underneath.

[616] Plate 129C pictures the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay. The vertical cross-hatched panels on the body are three totemic eucalyptus trees at the Gainmaui swamp and the three transverse panels across the shoulders, abdomen and hips, their branches. The vertical lines of lozenge-shaped designs[98] on the body and the legs have two meanings, the bush-fire caused by the careless men, and the white patches on the trunks of the totemic eucalyptus trees.

The Geese, Wurumatji, of Duwalaila Swamp, Arnhem Bay

During creation times a flock of geese, *wurumatji*,[99] lived on the Duwalaila swamp, situated to the west of Arnhem Bay. Their food was *rakia*, the bulbs of the spike rush. One day the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*,[1] when travelling over the Duwalaila swamp of Arnhem Bay in a storm, called out (thundered) so loudly that the geese took fright and flew westward to the swamps south of Milingimbi, where they have remained ever since.

[616] Plate 129D pictures the body painting of a *dua* boy of the *jambakbinwa mata* of western Arnhem Bay. The black squares throughout the design are the fresh-water swamps at Duwalaila, the one-time home of the *wurumatji*. The white dots within the squares are either the bulbs of *rakia* or white stones on the bottom of the swamp. The vertical bands joining the black squares indicate the paths made by the geese, *wurumatji*, as they walked from one swamp to the other in search of food, and the horizontal cross-hatched bands which link the squares, fresh-water streams flowing between the swamps. The bands across the shoulders and the hips are low ranges of hills near by. Goose tracks entering and leaving the swamp are indicated on the white bands passing over the shoulders. Cross-hatching throughout the painting is symbolical of the muddy water stirred up by the geese as they searched in the bottom of the swamp for the bulbs of the spike rush.

4. SAND FIGURES

*532 857 Whilst at Yirrkalla we often watched the aboriginal children moulding figures of various creatures in the sand, or scratching them on the wet surface of the

97. For more complete myth, see p. 293.

98. The same design is used on a number of bark paintings, Pl. 93D, Pl. 98B, C. It is a *mata* design of the *gumaitj* language group, Fig. 61N.

99. See sacred object, Pl. 129C.

1. For myth of *Tjambuwal* at Arnhem Bay, see p. 299.

Significance of the Djanggawul

These material objects, then, such as the sacred *rangga*, bag and mat, are focal points, or symbols, through which we may grasp the significance of the concept as a whole. The mat is a uterus symbol; so is the whale, although used in this sense only incidentally. Here is the source of all life, for it was from the Uteri of the Sisters that the first people sprang. Moreover, these Aborigines have recognized the importance of the sexual act in causing conception and pregnancy. This natural sequence of events has many parallels in the animal life they observe about them. Throughout the myth direct references are made to sexual intercourse, while symbolic references in both the myth and songs are numerous. The *rangga* poles, the yam stick, *mamwulan*, *djuda* and *djanda* are themselves penis symbols, an interpretation made quite frankly by the Aborigines themselves. The poles, for instance, are kept hidden within the *ngainmara*, and removed from time to time for drying, thus symbolizing coitus (penis in vagina as a projection of the uterus), and drying the penis after intercourse when it has become 'wet' with semen and vaginal juices. Or the *mamwulan* is plunged into the earth, so that water gushes forth at its removal; this is compared to coitus, the removal of the penis from the vagina, and the subsequent flow of seminal and vaginal juices when the Sisters stand up again. Waterholes themselves are vulva symbols, used frequently in Aboriginal song and mythology, while trees (for example, the *djuda*) are penis symbols, and their roots are called by the term used for penis (*vide* songs). A great deal of this erotic symbolism is expressed in sacred ritual, in posturing and actions.

From this we see something of the importance of sexual intercourse. To the Aborigines, as to us, sex and food are basic drives. Whatever subsidiary drives exist, these two are fundamental, for upon them human life, as they know it, depends. The Aborigines are apt to stress the importance of the sexual drive. 'How else', they say, 'can we continue as a group? By what other means can we obtain food except by its natural increase?' Thus even certain forms of plant life are divided into male and female sexes. Sexual intercourse is felt to be necessary for survival, in so far as the human and animal world is concerned, although this survival depends ultimately on forces beyond the Aborigines' control—on seasonal fluctuation, and on the sun, and so we come back to the significance underlying the Djanggawul. The Aborigines of north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land consequently pay much attention to sexual matters, and their attitude towards this subject is one of utmost frankness.[1] To them, sexual intercourse is an essential

[1] *Vide* Introduction to *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (R. and C. Berndt), Viking Fund Series in Anthropology, Yale University, 1951. No 16.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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The Djanggawul Myth

lindaridj parakeets flying over the mainland, the sun's rays catching the redness of their breast feathers. There was a constant roar of waves pounding on the beach. They paddled farther into the bay, coming to the Garingan rock, and saw the wide curving beach of Jelangbara. They sang with joy, and allowed the surf to take their canoe into the shallow water.

Then they dragged their canoe on to the beach and unloaded it, making this a sacred place. Jelangbara is the largest Djanggawul centre in north-eastern Arnhem Land and, to-day, the most important.

Here the Djanggawul Brother wished to shorten his Sister's clitorises. But the elder Sister said, 'No, wait till we reach Arnhem Bay. We can have a good rest, and put Dreamings there.' So they walked around, still dragging the clitorises and elongated penis, leaving marks on the ground which may be seen to-day.

Leaving their canoe, the Djanggawul walked along the coast until they came to Ngadibalji, where they saw the *djawuldjawul* mangrove bird. Here too the Djanggawul Brother left his hairbelt, but retained the parakeet-feathered waist-band and arm-bands he was wearing. The hairbelt is now a long sandhill. On the sandhill, were track marks of the *damurmindjari* (*damburindari* or *waburunggu*) wild duck; these birds were eating the *murnji*, or wild peanut roots. On the opposite side was a large barren sandhill, on the surface of which were tracks of the *djanda* goanna, as well as of many birds. A *gamaru* tree with non-edible 'apple'-like nuts was growing there too. This tree is sacred; it is a *jirijiri* bullroarer tree,[1] and to-day only those who are very old may look upon it. Here the Djanggawul paused and heard again the cry of the *ngadili* (*dangadilji* or *rirambung*) black cockatoo. Here too is the sacred waterhole, *milngur*, which the Djanggawul made by inserting the *mauwulan rangga* pole: a spring flows from it down to the beach. It is said that the four Beings entered this hole, and made their camp within.

Later, they walked farther along, and saw two *djanda* goanna resting on the peak of a sandhill. 'Ah,' said the Brother, 'I am very surprised to see this goanna. I had better put it Dreaming (*wongar*) for this country.' *Banggulí* is the goannas' 'inside' sacred name. The goanna crawled up the smooth surface of the sandhill, dislodging the sand. It attempted to climb on to the sacred *djuda* pole (that is, tree) the Djanggawul had placed there, but could not do so, because the Djanggawul were still there. To-day the *djuda* ironwood (or 'black' bark) tree is still there, at Mauwulanggalngu, where it grew from the sacred *rangga*.

[1] The connexion with a bullroarer is not clear, for this object is not now used in the *dua nara* ceremonies, but only in the *kunapipi*. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters III and IV.

The Djanggawul Myth

calling out in the early morning. After this they heard 'people and children' crying; and here spirit footprints of children may be seen on the rocks. These are the spirits who are as yet unborn, and remain in the uterus of the elder Sister, Bildjiwuraroiju. After leaving Gagubam the Djanggawul passed Bauwuling (or Bauwijara) where they saw *bauwaldja* catfish swimming after small fish and *bunabi* trepang slugs. And above Bauwuling, in the fresh water well on dry land, surrounded by mangroves and salt water, was *biabia* refuse from the trepang.

After spending some time in the Port Bradshaw country, establishing sacred sites, they decided to walk down the beach towards Caledon Bay; but there were so many totemic folk in those parts that they again got into their canoe and paddled down to Gambuga-(wi) at Caledon Bay, in territory of the Karlpu linguistic group. There they are said to have made a sacred place, and put special *djuda*. These were *rangga* emblems which, with others, they had carried from Bralgu in the *ngainmara* mat, and trees sprang up as they were pushed into the ground.

When they had done this they looked up, and saw a big dry weather cloud or mirage, called *wulma*. It was coming from Buguwolumiri, in the country of the Djapu linguistic group, towards the 'bottom' (or southern part) of Blue Mud Bay; so they travelled towards that place, and put more dreamings there. Their clitorises and penis were still dragging on the ground.

Then they saw another *wulma* towards the 'top' of Blue Mud Bay, at Bugalji, in Djarlwak linguistic group territory. They paddled around the coast to that place, and left dreamings there. Then, abandoning their canoe, they went on foot through the bush until they came to Balimauwi; this is also in Djarlwak country, on the northern side of Rose River. They made a big camp, building a number of different 'shades' or huts, which to-day are paperbark trees; and there they also placed many dreamings.

Thus through the greater part of the country about Port Bradshaw, below Jelangbara almost to Rose River, all along the coast and even a little way inland, the Djanggawul left special drawings symbolically related to themselves and to totemic beings. They left, too, sacred *rangga* emblems, such as the *djuda*, the *djanda* (goanna) and *mauwulan* (associated with water springs), as well as sacred baskets. At all those places, moreover, they established their cult, with the singing of songs and the ritual of the *dua* moiety *nara* ceremonies.

While at Balimauwi, they looked up into the north western sky and saw a great *wulma* hanging over Ngaluwi ('inside' name Waguralgu) at Arnhem Bay, in the territory of the Ngeimil and

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
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opposition between groups, which, in the absence of some powerful motive or urge, must tend to restrict communication between people who are situated at any distance from one another.

Let us consider, first, the country and its natural resources. Arnhem Land is a vast territory, still in its virgin state. The terrain is rugged. There are no high mountains but only low hills, which, except on the western fringe, rarely exceed four or five hundred feet in height. These hills, which often outcrop with bare rock, give an arid, even desolate, appearance to the country. Undulating lowlands and broad plains stretch for hundreds of miles. These are more fertile, and are covered either with a dense growth of long grass or with savannah woodland. They are intersected by numerous watercourses, which in the dry season become mere dry ravines with a few deep waterholes. In the wet season these river courses are raging torrents.

The natives are familiar with the various botanical (ecological) associations which characterise this territory, and distinguish these by special terms. They can name, without hesitation, the characteristic trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants in every association, as well as the food plants and animals, and the raw materials used in technology, which at any season of the year[12] they obtain from each of these associations. In this we see a system and an orderliness

[12] Some idea of the critical knowledge of their territory and its resources which the Australian aborigines possess, and of the systematic way in which they classify these resources, as well as their appreciation of the influence of the seasonal cycle on their life and economy, may be gathered from the following accounts of the people of the neighbouring territory of Cape York Peninsula: *Names and Naming in the Wik Monkan Tribe* (in press) and *The Seasonal Factor in Human Culture*, Proc. Prehist. Soc. July-Dec. 1939, No. 10, pp. 209-221.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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which is very far removed from the general picture of the Australian aborigine. 813 824

As the coast is approached, the country often becomes flat, and takes the form of wide plains through which the rivers flow sluggishly. On their estuarine reaches the rivers break up into innumerable arms, creeks and backwaters which are fringed with dense walls of mangroves. These brackish tidal reaches intersect the coastal plains, which are periodically flooded, becoming shallow lagoons which soon dry up, and leave miles of bare mud. This dries out and cracks so that it presents a tessellated appearance, and is often encrusted with deposits of salt. The estuarine reaches, tidal arms, and flood plains, yield very large quantities of food—chief of which are fish, for the capture of which many very specialised methods have been developed in Arnhem Land. Shellfish (*maipal*), including *laitjin*, (the wood-boring shipworm, *Teredo*) are also obtained in quantity in the mangrove zone. The shellfish are gathered at low water and *Teredo* are extracted from sodden logs uncovered at low tide, by splitting these with an axe and pulling them out by hand. 133 136 226

There are two well-defined seasons in Arnhem Land, the wet, or north-west monsoon, and the dry or south-east season. The "wet" extends from about December to March or April, when the wind is generally in the north-west quarter. During this period most of the annual rainfall—about 40 inches—occurs. The "dry" season extends from about April to November. At this season little rain falls except in far North-eastern Arnhem Land and for much of this period the wind blows steadily from the south-east. 132

This division of the year into two strongly-contrasted seasons has an important influence not only on the food supply of the people but also on their movements and occu- 221 805 813

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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down the back when empty, but when full the weight is usually borne on the forehead, or if the load is a heavy one, the baskets are carried on top of the head.

At first glance, Arnhem Land, like many other parts of Northern Australia, may appear to be barren and inhospitable and to offer little promise for the gathering of vegetable foods. But it must be remembered that over the centuries the aborigines have accumulated great experience of the food plants of their environment, which is handed on from generation to generation, and that they have developed highly specialised methods for exploiting every resource of the territory in which they live. The food resources of Arnhem Land are rich and varied and the natives have developed effective processes for the preparation of its vegetable foods, as well as many clever and ingenious devices for the capture of fish and game.

Again the cooking and preparation of food is far from the crude or haphazard business of popular imagination. *ŋätu* is not the only poisonous plant which is used as food. A number of other food plants also contain soluble poisons which are eliminated by simple and effective, but often prolonged, cooking and washing.

The women are dexterous and neat in all their technological processes, and to watch them at work in the preparation of vegetable food is an object lesson in the skilful and efficient use of the simplest equipment.

The task of the men is to provide animal food, both fish and game. As a rule, when a large quarry such as a kangaroo is killed, it is cooked and quartered on the spot, and is then divided equally among those taking part in the hunt. It is taken back to camp in a cooked or half-cooked state, often wrapped neatly in paperbark. Each man again divides his share of the game according to his obligations defined by

754
[824 on the eyes, cheeks and arm of a hunter to make him alert
789] and far-seeing—*mel karrkuluk*—and so to aid him in sighting and approaching game that is difficult to kill,
[554] success with which brings prestige to a hunter. The blood drawn by a *ragalk* from his victim, or the flesh taken from
[778] the body of a man whose death has been brought about by a sorcerer, has special potency in magic. It is regarded as dangerous, *daya*—tabu in a ritual sense by virtue of its *marr*—*marr dal* (*marr*, spiritual power, *dal*, strong). It must therefore be eaten only with due observance of ritual precautions. In the case of a young man or uninitiated boy, human flesh, particularly flesh from the victim of a *kalka*,
[789 may be given to him only by an old man who first applies
784] his own axillary sweat to the mouth, face and throat of the novice so that he will not become sick, and thus ensures that he receives the benefit of the *marr* without the danger that he would otherwise incur. On no account may a boy or a young man touch this flesh or blood with his own hands.

[774 Meanwhile the victim of the *kalka* lies unconscious and
754 is declared by the natives to be dead. They say that his *malli*—his ghost—remains with the body, but that his *birimbir* departs. The *birimbir* is very near to our idea of the soul. It resides originally with the *malli ranga*, the spirit or spirit-manifestation of the totem which remains always in the *wangarr kapu manotji*, the totemic well or water hole where it swam until it entered the mother's body at conception. When the *birimbir* leaves the body of the victim of the *kalka*, my informants said that it returned to the *kapu manotji*. And they added: 'All same he die.' It is as if the man has died. For when a man dies his *birimbir* returns as described above, to the *kapu manotji* from which it came and swims there until it is again reincarnated.

754 The *kalka* now proceeds to restore his victim to life.
278 He takes a white stone from his dilly bag. First he rubs on the body the mucilage of an orchid called *djalkurk*, *Dendro-*
● 824 *bium dicuphum*, and then warms the stone, which he places on the sore—*tji'tji*—or on the victim's chest. He warms the stone again and now places it on the *maiyang* (throat) and chest. Then he draws the skin back into place, heats the stone again and places it on his victim's cheeks, supplementing the stone with the blade of his *mangal*—spear-thrower. My informants said that the penis of the victim is erect, the tongue hanging out and the bowel prolapsed, and each of these organs has to be treated and replaced in position. Sometimes one of the *kalka* will climb a nearby tree and break down the leafy nest of a green tree ant (*Œcophylla virescens*)—which exudes a strong, pungent odour of formic acid and is believed by the natives to have some therapeutic value. The *kalka* scatters these ants over the prolapsed intestine, which my informant declared to be effective in causing it to retract.

754 It was a matter of surprise to me to find a number of men who were in possession of the *kandjurma*, which are the stock-in-trade of the *ragalk*, admitted to membership of the cult, and were even willing to demonstrate to me their technique in dealing with a victim.

The natives do not pretend that a man subjected to treatment by *kalka* in the manner described is afterwards

[p.101 (A)]

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of carapace scattered in the sand justified the island's reputation for good turtle hunting.

Camps like this have been in use for centuries, and around several of them are hundreds of tons of shells, bones, and refuse. One mound in the Crocodile Islands is over twenty feet high and covers an area of approximately five hundred square yards; when an experimental cut was made into the centre, it was found to consist entirely of shellfish shells.

Camp shelters are the crudest imaginable. Prince Petr Kropotkin goes so far as to say that aborigines live in holes in the sand; and as in the case of many misrepresentations, there is some truth in his statement. When the wind is light they scoop up the sand on the windward side and sleep in the depression beside a smouldering fire, and if the wind is cold, a thick wind-break is pushed into the sand. Why should they go to more trouble when they move off the following morning?

In the rainy season nomads become uncomfortably cold and wet and build more elaborate shelters of sticks covered with paper-bark, or of bark from the stringy-bark eucalypt, curved inside out, so that when a number of curved sheets are placed side by side they look like miniature tunnels. Roomy and easily rearranged, these 'balas' suit the winds and rain and sometimes last for the duration of the wet season.

Yulengor have no knowledge of sanitation, and they are never in one camp long enough for this form of cleanliness to be forced on them. Refuse and leaves are shovelled on pieces of bark and thrown by the entrance. In cold wet weather shells and food are cooked inside the shelter, and all kinds of waste are thrown on the rapidly increasing midden at the doorway. To camp amidst one's own filth is not regarded as unclean. Before the middens at old camps become overpowering or germinate an exterminating

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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Sharks attack nomads, and inflict shocking injuries; crocodiles crush arms and legs. Bad wounds from these sources are treated with yellow hibiscus bark beaten into a pulp and applied every few days. In the case of bone-fracture, a few thick grass stalks are bound on as splints, and the hibiscus pulp is applied on the outside. The bark pulp is left on a wound till the pain and odour demand attention, and then both splints and pulp are renewed.

Even a simple break in a bone probably knits crookedly; when a compound fracture is suffered, if gangrene does not kill the patient, pieces of bone work their way out of the limb. Wounds become so painful, that further applications of the irritating grass and bark cannot be borne, and they are then left to Nature to flood and cleanse them with copious streams of pus. I saw one hunter who had sustained a compound fracture above the wrist from a crocodile. After a long course of Yulengor treatment, six inches of his forearm bone had dropped out, and the wound had healed. But thereafter he was unable to control his hand, and it flapped uselessly by his side.

An adult with a stubborn open sore will search at low tide for a large anemone, and place the sore in the centre of the soft mass. The anemone automatically contracts, and the patient then tears himself away and has a new, clean, bleeding wound which may heal without further treatment. A child suffering from stubborn sores is treated by its mother, who collects slug-like shellfish (*Onchidium*) and squeezes the juices into the sore. I am told that the juices cause a stinging sensation, as iodine does.

Back injuries are ineffectively treated by tying bush rope tightly round the body in the region of the pain, and intense pain is eased by applying hot wet sand. 'Charlie Sitdown' became paralysed from the hips down, but his misfortune did not prevent him from becoming influential and astute in his dealings. In time he obtained three or four wives and

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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752 a family, and I have known him to roam by canoe for as far as one hundred and fifty miles with his wives, children, and dogs.

Women and children receive extensive fire burns; infants turn over in their sleep and roll into the fire and are shockingly injured. I saw one child's foot burnt so that the top of it grew along the shin, and the toes were missing. Another man had rolled into the fire and had burnt the skin off half his abdomen, and in the prolonged healing process the skin had formed a natural pouch, of considerable dimensions, in which he carried tobacco.

Burns are sometimes immersed in brine from evaporating tidal-salt-pans; a far less painful method, however, is to squeeze into the wound the moisture from the decaying [824] swamp-rush, 'rarkai', and bind on the rotting pulp. Less severe burns are smeared with glutinous sap from an orchid stem, which seems to provide a temporary, flexible skin.

[578] Camp quarrels and head-splitting go together, but blows which would kill a white man merely crack the skull of Stone Age man. It is said that when the skull is wounded in several places, one operator grasps the head in his hands and presses it firmly together, and another binds it with string.

Before treating abdominal spear wounds a patient is examined to see that his vital organs are intact. A freely bleeding wound is allowed to congeal of its own accord, but if the blood continues to flow or spurt a flat wooden spear-thrower is heated in the fire and thrust into it. I do not know if this is intended to cauterize, but many tributes [824] are paid to the method. Hot water is poured into the opening and yellow hibiscus bark-pulp is plastered over it. At the end of three days the plaster is removed, the bark of two other trees is mixed with the hibiscus and inserted in the wound, and white clay is plastered over the poultice. If intestines protrude from a wound, a test is made to see if they are pierced. Water is given to the patient, and if none runs

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out it is assumed to be worth while patching him up; his organs are pushed inside and the hot spear-thrower, bark-pulp, and clay-plaster treatment is applied. 752

Severe constipation, with distended stomach, is known as 'or wah', and for this the leaves of a dry jungle tree are mixed in water and the fluid rubbed over the body. Crushed leaves are inserted in the nostrils and piled on the chest whilst the remaining fluid is poured into the ears. It is said to be essential for the patient to remain supine, so as to allow the fluid to run from the nostrils and ears down through the spinal column into the stomach. A second method is to make a meal from a long, spiral shellfish (*Cerithieder Telescopium telescopium*) found on the mudflats. It is good food at any time, but it is also regarded as a cure for constipation, in aiding the passage of fibrous foods; it has the smoothness of the oyster and looks like glutinous slime. 757 [824] [826] [825] [262]

A third treatment is carried out by building a low platform of sticks, covering it with swamp grass, placing the patient on top and covering him with sheets of paper-bark. A fire is made under the structure from the wood, leaves, and bark of the 'boit' or iron-wood tree. This particular tree is always used for the fire. (It is the hardest wood I have seen, and when it is being milled severe irritation is caused to both nose and throat.) The patient spends most of the day on the grille, and from time to time is turned over; at sundown he is removed and plunged into a nearby creek or waterhole. Most assuredly he can expect to feel stimulated. 757 372 [313]

Diarrhoea is not a common ailment, for natural wandering habits reduce the danger of infection. Nevertheless, epidemics do occur, maybe through over-eating a good catch of turtle, or through hunger driving the food-gatherers to eat decomposing fish or meat washed ashore. A succulent herb, 'brokpili', found near fresh water swamps, is then crushed and mixed with water, and the rusty red mixture 757 [164] [262] [824]

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757 is swallowed, poured over the body, and into the nose and
[824] ears. It is said to be a purgative.

Toothache is unusual, for teeth are strong and well
752 developed and are constantly exercised in masticating tough meat and fibrous foods. It was explained that if a tooth were to ache so badly that a kangaroo catch could not be eaten, the tooth would be treated, to temporarily quieten
[824] it for the feast, by packing around it shavings from the wood of the 'moinjortj' tree.

757 Severe coughs and colds are seasonal and are aggravated by dipping the patient in a creek or by pouring water over
[824] him to ease an accompanying fever. Coughs are also treated by sipping a mixture from the inner-bark of the stringy-bark eucalypt and a sweet grass soaked in water. Nests of green tree-ants are dropped on hot coals to stupefy the insects so
[825] that they can be collected and soaked in water. Their particularly high content of formic acid remains in the water, and the mixture is renowned as a cure for a cough. A further potion is made from the greenish, high-smelling wax in wild-honey nests, which is mixed with water. It is said to taste like certain patent cough remedies and to produce a mild stinging sensation in the throat. When colds have settled in the lungs, a fire is made from pandanus palm nuts and covered with leaves and wet sand; water is poured over the sufferer, and leaves and hot sand are piled on him.
[753] It is said that the sickness is sweated out, and that the evil spirit 'jumps out of his mouth to escape the heat'.

Headaches seem to be due to constipation, and to relieve them a certain white-ant nest is taken from the mangrove trees and burnt on the windward side of the patient. After inhaling the smoke for a day, he is said to lose the pain, or, to put it more strikingly: 'The sickness escapes from the smoke through his eyes, nose and ears.' Finally, he washes himself with sand or water—and, as an old man naïvely suggested, after listening to my informant: 'He has a smoke.'

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cattle to Yirrkala it was not long before their likeness too appeared on bark sheets.

I saw little-known caves on the Wessel Islands, in which totemic myths had been painted side by side with Japanese pearlers, Macassar proas, and odd European wanderers. Rock paintings are common in many parts of Australia, except in Arnhem Land where outcrops of rock are so rare that only three lots of rock paintings have been found. Here the primitive artist uses a bark sheet, which in itself indicates some measure of aesthetic impulse, for it is not easily obtained and has no permanence.

The Serpent in sacred myths is spiritually present in the 'maraian' or log painted with totemic symbols. For ceremonies, the maraian is kept in a bush shelter deep in the scrub, and initiated men guard it till the moment arrives for its dramatic elevation. They push their way through the shelter toward the over-awed initiates, and grovel, shudder, squirm, and roll over and over with strained and contorted faces, as if overcome by dread of the long maraian so carefully borne across their bodies. Wriggling along in the rear, the leader of the ceremony blows through the maraian and produces the low booming sound so feared by women and children and believed to be the voice of the Serpent.

Designs on maraian are made from coloured clays, string, and feathers. Hundreds of yards of string are wound on some of them, and the effect is enhanced by weaving into it white birds'-down, red and green parrots' feathers, or opossum fur. Red ochre-stone from a totem centre on Elcho Island is traded for hundreds of miles, and is in demand because of a greasy property which makes it adhere to the skin. Ordinary clay-paints crack and peel, but this is overcome by crushing orchid stems and smearing the sticky juice over the body before applying the paint. Participants in ceremonies decorate themselves with totemic designs, and glue long lines of white birds'-down on their

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YULENGOR

*[773] [778] [779] A goanna was among the many sacred totems in the canoe, and he fared better than the rest; he swam ashore and hid in a lagoon. His lagoon is now an important totem centre, and the lesser-spirit, or mali, of the goanna guards it. As in many underground springs, the water occasionally bubbles up in the lagoon, and this is a sign that the goanna is moving below. No women are allowed near the totem, and if yams [562] [784] in the vicinity are eaten the results are fatal. Old men who remember the Macassars told me that when they attempted [648] to make their trepang camps on the beach by the lagoon the Yulengor got rid of them by refusing to allow them to use the water or to gather firewood.

Restrictions are enforced on firewood in the area, because the goanna sent his mali into one of the trees growing by the spring. When the Junkgowa followed the goanna ashore, they were attracted by the singular beauty of this tree, for as [825] well as the goanna-mali they saw a small red parrot in the [531] branches. They declared that thereafter the feathers of this parrot were to be used in decorating totems of the Dua moiety. The tree was pronounced sacred; there are now ●[824] many of them near the lagoon, and the tabu has been extended to them all.

*[773] [779] Totems, or 'rungga', floated ashore, and the Junkgowa hung them in the tree to dry. But when the pandanus palm armlets were washed up on the beach, they sprang to life and grew of their own accord, and the Junkgowa stripped them [824] of their fronds and wove them into the first aboriginal armlets, dilly-bags, and ngannaras. These articles are in everyday use, but because the Junkgowa made them, they are also totems, and their story is preserved in the songs and ceremonies of the guardian horde.

Two other sacred centres were visited between Blue Mud [778] Bay and Cape Arnhem, where the Junkgowa performed miracles and taught their children totemic secrets and dances. [796] It is the record of these activities, some of them so trivial as

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shores of Arnhem Bay, the father of a strong horde, fearing no one. He was a mighty hunter and sometimes hunted far into the west. His family revered him and so vied for his favours that he was able to retire from the strenuous life of hunting. Jurrpan thought on many things as he sat in idleness by his fire. He knew that he had been wise in building up his horde till it was stronger than any other, he had the respect of all who knew him, yet he was far from satisfied. One night, restlessly waiting for the dawn, he saw the Morning Star rise over the hills to prepare the new day, and suddenly he knew what he wanted. He determined to leave the earth, climb into the western sky and there make his body glow like the Morning Star.

At that time the horde was camped by a lagoon, so Jurrpan disappeared when his sons and their wives were food-gathering. On their return at sundown they called and searched for the old man, but when they could not find his tracks leading away from the camp, they suspected that he had been spirited off by evil magic. One conjecture followed another, till they saw a brilliant star shining in the west, and from it heard the voice of Jurrpan calling them: 'I am camping up here now. I'm finished with the earth and shall stay here and make my body glow like Bunumbirr' (the Morning Star).

'But what will we do? Can't we come up there with you?'

On this point Jurrpan was adamant: 'No,' he said, 'I want you to change yourselves into a new food and live in the swamp near my old camp.'

Jurrpan's word had always been law, and now in spite of the confusion that spread through the camp no one thought of rebelling. They did as they were told and changed themselves into the well-known 'rarkai', or swamp rush-corm. Rarkai is a favourite food and spreads over great areas of swamp in the wet season, ripening after the water evaporates.